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EDITORIAL OPINIONS OF THE LEADING JOURNALS UPON CURRENT TOPICS—COMPILLED EVERY DAY FOR THE EVENING TELEGRAPH.

A Warning to Congress and to Party Managers.

From the N. Y. Times.

An Ohio correspondent of the Chicago Tribune, discussing the lesson of the late elections, alludes to the shortcomings of Congress, as well as the blunders of local managers, as the causes of disaster.

In Ohio, as in California, and now again in this State, the local organizations appear to have displayed a remarkable indifference to the moral sense of the Republican party. The correspondent of our radical contemporary charges that in Ohio, in many instances, the worst men were nominated for office—"Government plunderers and political outcasts" from whose support the best elements of the party naturally recoiled.

Another cause of alienation has been the proscription of the soldiers in the organization of the county tickets; while the Democrats adroitly accepted their honorable positions. To these local circumstances the Tribune's correspondent attributes the defection of thousands of Republicans, who refused to be participants in the degradation of their party.

But the correspondence of our Chicago contemporary does not limit the moral of the Ohio election to local considerations. These were sufficient, no doubt, to render intelligible many of the changes in the composition of the State Legislature and the filling of local offices; but they represent only imperfectly the influences that have operated to the prejudice of the Republican party.

Conservatism means simply a denial of the right of suffrage to any but whites. Such is held to be the purport of recent elections at the North; and Virginia proposes to follow the fashion set by Ohio. The blacks are not seeking to disfranchise the whites; they are seeking to be disfranchised themselves. We ardently hope that the attempt may be signally defeated.

South Carolina and Mississippi have each a clear majority of colored men on their registers; and it puzzles us to see how the minority can hope to disfranchise the majority. We shall be somewhat astonished if sensible "conservatives" shall unite in the effort. It can have no other effect than to embitter the relations of the two races. There should have been no thought of white or black in politics; but if a large majority of the whites in any State see fit to make the disfranchisement and political suppression of the blacks the cornerstone of their edifice, they absolutely compel every black to stand against them.

These are complaints to which the popular heart of the country most earnestly responds. Outside of the circle of party managers and office-holders, the feeling is universal that Congress has addressed itself too exclusively to the strictly political aspect of reconstruction, and has consequently overlooked the urgent practical wants which have followed the suppression of the Rebellion. The necessity of retrenchment has not been recognized. The evils and injustice of a crude and vexatious system of taxation have received very limited attention. The dangers incident to an inflated and unconvertible currency have been met with nothing like adequate precaution.

A similar consciousness of the weakness which the inefficiency of Congress has entailed upon the Republican party may be traced, we think, in the speech of Senator Morgan, as Chairman of the ratification meeting held last week in this city. He does not, indeed, arraign Congress after the manner of the writer we have quoted, nor does he rebuke the wretched taste and worse judgment which are visible in certain of the local nominations. But he clearly indicates the necessity of legislating more earnestly for the relief of the struggling industry of the country, and the peril of longer neglecting its material requirements.

The Republican State of Ohio, the justice of Western radicalism, the home of Chief Justice Chase, who is the nigger-radical candidate for the Presidency, has emphatically refused to give the negroes the suffrage. No amount of ingenuity on the part of the partisan press or radical orators can explain away the significance of this fact. There is a clear majority of sixty to a hundred thousand votes against giving the suffrage to negroes in the State. The returns are not all reported, but the Republicans concede a majority of sixty-five thousand, while the Democrats claim near a hundred thousand. Take it at seventy or eighty thousand, which is probably near the mark, or even what the Republicans admit, sixty-five thousand, it is a surprising majority, and undeniable evidence that the negro-suffrage policy of the Republican party is utterly scouted by the people.

The acts of Congress require, first, a careful registration of all persons who are legal voters in the respective States; next, an election whereat these legal voters shall determine

that a Convention shall or shall not be held to reorganize the State. Delegates to said Convention are usually chosen at this election; but, unless a majority of all the voters registered vote at this election, the whole movement is invalidated, and the Convention must not be held.

At the outset, the "conservatives" (ex-Rebels) were inclined to "accept the situation" in good faith, and to unite with their hearty loyal fellow-citizens in reorganizing their respective States and in choosing officers to govern them. Even so bitterly Copperhead a sheet as the World advised them to do this, not as intrinsically desirable, but as the most judicious course practicable. Some of the leading Southern, like Governor Brown, of Georgia, Wm. Hampton, General Longstreet, and General Jeff. Thompson, took this course. The majority, however, inclined to a sullen, dogged, passive resistance. They very generally registered, but declined to vote; hoping thus to nullify the movement for a Convention and protract indefinitely the "military despotism" which they represent as so intolerable. This manoeuvre failed. In spite of yellow fever and concerted "conservative" efforts to keep voters from the polls, both Alabama and Louisiana have cast a decided majority of their registered votes, and thus insured the holding of conventions. Virginia and North Carolina are about to follow; but the results of recent elections have impelled the change of tactics already noted. The "conservatives" in each of these States are making desperate efforts to carry a majority of delegates in their respective conventions; and, as each State has a decided majority of whites registered as legal voters, and as the Republicans have been much divided, they cherish strong and reasonable hopes of success. The conservatives will vote "No Convention," but they will not abstain from voting as their brethren in Alabama and Louisiana did; and it is quite probable that Virginia will still have an aggregate next Tuesday than she has ever yet done. A like result is quite possible in North Carolina. And if nine-tenths of the whites shall prove to be conservative, they may carry the convention, or, failing in this, they may vote it down and prolong indefinitely the military rule.

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was supposed, doubtless, by the political managers, that by thus bringing the question before the people, mixed up with party issues, in an election, the people generally would vote with their party, and not discriminate between one question and another. Mr. Chase went home to vote for negro-suffrage, and to give an example to the Republican voters. Other radical leaders were equally as earnest in their efforts to carry the State on this issue. But the people did discriminate in a very remarkable manner, for a vast number who voted for the party ticket voted at the same time against negro suffrage.

Taking the Republican majority in the elections last year and the majority now against negro suffrage, there is a change of at least a hundred thousand Republican votes, and probably a change of a hundred and thirty thousand. Nor was there any apathy or indifference on the question, for the vote of the State was larger, than ever before. The people turned out, as they never did before, purposely to express their disapprobation of negro suffrage, just as Mr. Chase went home expressly to vote for it. Never was the policy of party leaders in and out of Congress so signally denounced as this has been by the mass of the party itself. But this is more surprising still when we look at the status and insignificant number of the negroes in Ohio. Civil rights are not denied to them there, nor is there any disposition to refuse them all the protection afforded by the laws to the whites. Giving them the privilege of voting would have had little or no effect upon the political issues in the State, because they are comparatively few in number. There was no fear of negro supremacy or a negro balance of power in Ohio as in the South. The white vote would always be overwhelming there. What, then, is the meaning of such an emphatic refusal to give the negroes suffrage? It means that the superior white race—the Anglo-American and all the other branches of the European race which constitute the body of American citizens—will not degrade the country and Government by admitting an inferior race to equality with themselves. That, and that alone, is the meaning of the vote in Ohio.

In California the people refused to give the Mongolian race (the Chinese) the privilege of voting, from the same repugnance to placing an inferior race on an equality with themselves. Yet the Mongolian is far superior to the negro. Is it surprising, then, that the American people should be disgusted with the efforts to make the negroes—the lowest race of mankind—their equals? The consciousness of superiority and the sentiments and pride springing from it have determined unequivocally the relative position of these races to each other. But the negro question has assumed just now the greatest proportions in another point of view. It is not merely whether a few negroes scattered throughout the populous States of the North shall be placed on an equality with the whites, where they are now almost entirely excluded, but it is the effort of the radicals to make them a power in the republic through their votes in the Southern States that gives the greatest importance to the question. They form a large portion of the population of the South, and in some States the largest.

Under the operation of the reconstruction acts of Congress, which disfranchise a great many whites, they actually hold the political power of that vast and valuable section of our country. But that is not all. Our political system is such that they would probably be the balance of power in the republic. The President and members of Congress—enough to give a balance of power—may be elected by the negro vote of the South. The President, probably, would owe his election to that whom every party were pretty equally divided. The organs of the radicals, unblushingly confess they are now aiming at this object. They have the hardihood to avow this infamous purpose. This great republic to be under negro government! What a spectacle to contemplate! Ignorance and brutality to rule thirty millions of white American citizens! We must recollect that it is the balance of power that governs here, though it may be secured only by a few thousand votes. The Southern States in the hands of the negroes, as they will be if the reconstruction acts of Congress be carried out, will surely give these benighted people of the lowest race that power.

What, then, is to prevent them, incapable as they are, from reaching the highest offices? And would not the politicians pander to the prejudices and demands of these people for the sake of party and the offices of Government? A war of races, a ruined South, a vast military establishment, and, perhaps, a consolidated despotism over the whole country, would follow. We should sink into the condition of the South and Central American republics, or a worse one. Such is the alarming prospect which the infamous legislation of a radical Congress has brought before us. And it is this, together with an inherent repugnance to negro equality, that has caused the revulsion of public opinion in Ohio. Since the signing of the reconstruction acts, we are not without hope that the evils of negro supremacy and a negro balance of power in the republic may be averted. We may expect the same result throughout the North as in Ohio whenever the issue comes, and reckless as Congress may be, it will hardly venture to defy public opinion when expressed so emphatically.

Reconstruction. From the N. Y. World. "Instead of advising compliance with the law, the World vehemently urges the Southern whites to stop the work of reconstruction, and to structure that they may embarrass and, if possible, defeat it. The hope is held out that by doing this the work of reconstruction, required by guarantees may be obtained through the successes of the Northern Democracy. One concession, and one only, is recommended, and that is the repeal of the Reconstruction provision for insuring an equality of civil rights in the South. With this exception, the national and the most able of Democratic journals now scold the notion of reconstruction. It will listen to no talk of terms, it pursues every proposition for securing to the loyalty of the South the direction of Southern affairs. It will be content with nothing less than the unconditional restoration of the South—its colored people disfranchised, its Rebel leaders occupying the seats of Senators and Representatives, its theory of State rights intact and operative, and its machinery of local government worked in the identical interest which presided at the nation's birth with national authority. Plainly stated, the design of the Democracy is to destroy the safeguards which the war has given to the Union, and to use the fabric of Reconstruction as a means to the interest of rebellion."—Times.

We regret that our contemporary chooses to handle a great subject in so loose a way. We have no fondness for the argumentum ad hominem, or we might easily show that the string of assertions here made against the World would be nearly as pertinent against the author of the Philadelphia address. But we dislike a mode of reasoning which rests on the accessories of a question and does not go to its substance. We do not wish to tease an opponent, but to elucidate the subject, and we will try to be candid, lest wounded self-esteem should prove an imper-

vous shield to error. We of course understand, for we were among the first to state, the advantages possessed by the Republican party in their large majorities in Congress, and the long terms of the Senators. To pass a law requires the concurrence of the three branches of the law-making power, or of the President with both his assents, a two-thirds majority of the other two branches. But to prevent the repeal of a law, a bare majority of either House, suffices. It hence follows that at least four years must elapse before the Reconstruction acts can be repealed, even though the Democrats should win every election during that period, if the Republican party uses its power to the utmost.

But no man of sense, be he Democrat or Republican, supposes that the Senate would be thus still after a general revolution in public opinion. When it becomes clearly evident that the country repudiates the reconstruction policy of the Republicans, the Senate will see that resistance would only postpone what it cannot prevent, and that they would irrevocably ruin their party by standing out against the settled determination of the people. The Republicans virtually concede this in their electioneering appeals. They keep vociferating with wearisome repetition that the success of the Democratic party would break down the Reconstruction acts, and restore the Rebels to power. This is an acknowledgment that their long lease of the Senate would avail them little against a powerful adverse public opinion. If the elections yet to be held are carried by the Democratic party, it is certain that the reconstruction policy will not succeed.

The law may not be forthwith repealed, but the Southern whites will stand sullenly aloof, like a horse led to the water and refusing to drink. It will then be for Congress to decide whether it will proceed to organize and uphold pure negro governments. The certain consequence of persistence would be to drive the whole party out of the lower House in the Forty-first Congress. As soon as the Democrats have a majority of the House of Representatives, there will be no difficulty in cutting the sinews of the Reconstruction acts, although we may be unable to repeal them. The House would assent to no appropriations for maintaining a coercive military tyranny in the South; the House would impeach no officer for creating the Reconstruction acts as a nullity, and the Senate cannot try and condemn till the House has first impeached. It is easy to see, therefore, how the Reconstruction acts may be made a dead letter after the 4th of March, 1869, even though the Republican Senate should prove obstinate. We trust that we have made it sufficiently evident that the Democratic party, by its great success in the elections, is not winning a barren victory.

We come now to a more immediate point. If the Democrats carry New York and other States, as we expect, the country will demand the settlement of the Reconstruction question without further delay. Seeing that the radical scheme cannot succeed, the people will be impatient of persistence in it. There will arise a moral necessity for an immediate settlement on a more liberal basis. We trust that such a settlement will be reached on the basis of a compromise in which the Republican party will yield something, President Johnson something, the South something, the Democratic party something. Each party will have advantages which the others cannot fail to recognize; which is a state of things favorable to mutual concessions and a liberal adjustment of differences. The strong point of the Republicans will be their large present majorities in Congress; the strong point of the Democrats their certainty of defeating the radical policy; the strong point of the South the ability of its white inhabitants to render the Reconstruction scheme contemptible by standing aloof and surrendering the control of both the State and the Democratic party would be willing to make some concessions to have the question settled now, instead of two or four years hence. The Republicans had better make concessions than to stand out and lose all. A settlement thus reached would have this great advantage:—that, being established by the mutual consent of all parties, it would bind the honor of all, and be secure from subsequent disturbance. Whatever is deemed essential could at once be put into the Constitution by the prompt ratification of all the States; and neither party would be a future hot-bed of sedition, as it might under the cover of an insidious and complete and insolent triumph by its adversary. In proposing as the ground of settlement an amendment securing perfect equality of civil rights, we did not intend to assume authority that does not belong to us, and offer an ultimatum, but only to express an opinion which we had no doubt the Democratic party would readily assent to.

If the judgment we have now expressed as to the probable effect of a continuance of Democratic successes in the elections be tolerably sound, the consequences depicted by the Times should be regarded as mere electioneering clap-trap. STEAM ENGINE PACKING. The modern and extremely popular packing, called MILLER'S LUBRICATIVE, SOAP-STONE PACKING, OR IMITATION ENGLISH STILTON CHEESE, FOR SALE BY JAMES H. WEBB, N. E. COR. EIGHTH AND WALNUT STS., PHILADELPHIA.

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